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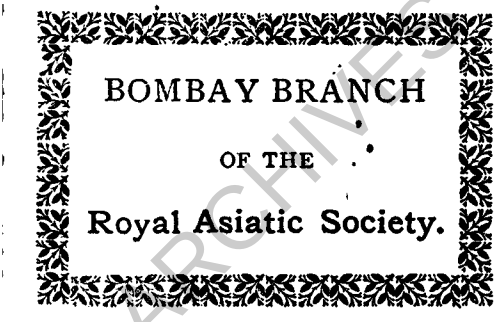

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MORE TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA

BEING A FURTHER ISSUE OF LEAFLETS BY THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION IN 1913-1914

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD REAY
K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D.
President of the Association

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1914

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FOREWORD

THE following pages will, I think, be welcome to those who take an interest in our great Indian Empire. "The Plain Facts about Indian Trade," "The True Character of the so-called Conquest of India by Great Britain," "The Status of Indians in the Empire," "The Indo-Ceylon Connection," "The Wonders of Irrigation," "The *British Californian* on British Rule in India," "The Land Cess in Italy and India," contain a great deal of valuable information in a succinct form.

The East India Association is much indebted to the various authors of these articles for the care they have bestowed on these publications. At a critical moment in the history of our Empire the evidence we have received of the loyalty of Native Rulers and of all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India strengthen our friendly relations in a common bond of patriotism and impress upon us the value of a joint heritage of great traditions in the arts of peace as well as in the stern realities of a righteous war.

REAY.

CAROLSIDE,
EARLSTON,
BERWICKSHIRE,
August 28, 1914.

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MORE TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA

XXXII.

SOME PLAIN FACTS ABOUT THE INDIAN TRADE REPORT FOR 1912-13

THE latest report on the trade of India is so encouraging to those who take a hopeful view of the progress of our Indian Empire that one is naturally afraid of making too much of it, and we prefer to quote the words of an old and experienced Administrator who is not likely to be too favourably disposed to the existing system. This is what Sir Henry Cotton says in a recent issue of *India*:

THE COMPETITION OF JAVA.

"In all civilized countries there has been a great expansion of trade in recent years, and India has fully shared in this advance. The total trade of the year rose to 271 millions, showing an increase over the preceding year of 11 per cent. It would be interesting to institute a comparison of the trade of India with that of other Eastern countries, but, so far as I know, this has never been attempted. How, for instance, does the expansion of trade in Japan, Java, the Straits Settlements, or even in Ceylon, compare with that of India? If a comparison could be made, I suspect that the figures from Java would prove to be the most instructive. Java is a small island compared with India, but the point of interest is that it is a Dutch dependency, just as India is a British dependency. Indian administrators know no more of Java than they do of the

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Philippines; but it would be a good thing for India if they devoted more attention to both. We get a few hints about Java in Mr. Noel-Paton's report. It is recorded that in the past year Java exported to India no less than 9,310,252 cwts. of cane-sugar, notwithstanding the fact that India is the largest producer of cane-sugar of any country in the world. And yet ten or twelve years ago Java sugar in the Indian market was a negligible quantity. What has happened to bring this state of things about, and how is it that Java in the course of a decade has been able to undersell the Indian producer almost to an unlimited extent? Again, I find in another part of this report that no less than 61 million pounds of tea were exported from Java in 1912. This also is very suggestive, and shows what a formidable competitor this Dutch island is in the world's market. I have no access to the total figures of Java trade, but I suspect that they will show a rate of expansion surpassing that of India and also of Ceylon, and even of the Straits Settlements. At any rate, whether they do so or not, the circumstances attending the recent development and prosperity of Java demand more consideration in India than they have hitherto received. Both Japan and Java have, on more than one occasion, sent official deputations to India to learn something of the conditions of that country, but I do not remember that India has ever thought it worth while to repay the compliment by a deputation to those islands. It is true that Englishmen now know a good deal about Japan, but Java is still a sealed book to us. And so, for that matter, are Dutch Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and even the American Philippines.

"The aggregate value of the imports into India of cotton yarn and cotton goods in 1912-13 was £40,518,000. Nearly the whole of this came from Lancashire, and the amount is just double of what it was ten years ago. *In the face of this unprecedented importation, it is very satisfactory to find that the year was one of exceptional prosperity in the Indian cotton industry.* The value of yarn exported to China

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amounted to nearly six millions. The value of raw cotton exported was over eighteen millions, of which considerably more than half went to Japan. *The Bombay cotton-mills were more active than they have ever been before*, and it is mentioned incidentally that there was an increased importation of long-staple cotton required for fine fabrics—a remark which is of importance, as it is manufactures from the long-stapled foreign product which directly compete with the Manchester piece goods. *Per contra*, it is instructive to note that, while the total number of spindles in India has increased to 6½ millions, Manchester has added more spindles to her gigantic equipment during the past five or six years than are existing in India after half a century of effort.

Rice and Wheat Exports.

"Another very interesting section of the report is that which relates to the export of rice and wheat. Forty years ago I compiled for the use of Government a report on the rice trade of the world. The exports from India then amounted to about a million tons. They now amount to 2,763,000 tons. Of this amount, 170,000 tons only go to the United Kingdom, about 700,000 tons to the rest of Europe, and the other principal buyers of Indian rice are—Straits Settlements, 409,000; Ceylon, 381,000; Japan, 241,000; and *Java*, 160,000—tons. These are enormous figures; and, while the Asiatic exports are undoubtedly for food consumption, the vast quantities sent to Europe appear to be used mainly for starch-making and distillation. But further information would be welcome as to the uses to which rice is put, especially when the vast exports of competing places like Saigon and Bangkok are taken into account. Forty years ago the exports from Saigon were 250,000, and from Bangkok 150,000 tons, but I do not know what the figures are now.

"The exports of wheat from India during the year rose to 1,660,000 tons, of which the United Kingdom took 1,185,246 tons. *It is noted that in* 1912, *as in* 1904, *the*

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United Kingdom imported more wheat from India than from any other single source, but in absolute quantity the record of 1904 still rules. It may be expected that that record will be broken in the current year, as the crop area of the past cold weather exceeded the average area of the preceding three years by 5 per cent.

"The trade of Calcutta (in merchandise) still keeps well ahead of any other port of India, and amounted to £108,280,000, that of Bombay being £77,266,000, Karachi £31,806,000, Burma ports £28,400,000, and Madras £25,320,000.

"After all, the most important feature of the trade of the year is the confirmation it affords of the well-known fact that, while the greatest share of the imports into India comes from the United Kingdom, the bulk of the exports are distributed all the world over, but principally to the continent of Europe. The United Kingdom enjoys 63 per cent. of the value of imports into India, and then comes Germany 6·4, Java 5·8, and the United States 3·2. Of the exports from India, Great Britain is a buyer of only 25·1 per cent. The remaining 75 per cent. goes to foreign buyers, among whom the chief are Germany 10·1 per cent., China 8·4, United States 7·8, Japan 7·7, France 6·5, and Belgium 5·4."

As noted in the *Lancashire Post* for November 5, the year 1913 was "one of the most profitable years known in the spinning and weaving industries," so that Mr. Hyndman's prophecy of Indian bankruptcy (now thirty-eight years old), repeated in his "Ruin of India" (being the Report of the Social Democratic Federation, dated 1907), still awaits, but shows no sign of, fulfilment. On the contrary, the yield of the Indian cotton crop showed an increase of 27 per cent.; and, whilst the total trade of Great Britain rose by 8·66 per cent., that of India rose by 8·1 per cent. The shipment of grey goods to China advanced from 174,336 to 934,880 yards, an increase of 436 per cent.

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XXXIII

THE TRUE CHARACTER OF THE SO-CALLED CONQUEST OF INDIA BY GREAT BRITAIN

We make no apology for republishing the following extract from a review by R. Sewell of Colonel Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras" in the *Royal Engineer's Journal* for December, 1913:

"From the point of view of politics it is not too much to say that the old Madras Records will stand as a sort of message to the world. A number of well-meaning but ill-informed philanthropists are never tired of asserting that the English went to India filled with the lust of conquest, and that their behaviour to the people of the country has always been that of conquerors towards the conquered. They affect to believe—perhaps they do honestly believe—that our empire in India is only maintained by what they call 'British bayonets.' And almost to a man the Indians themselves, being an entirely unhistorical race and absolutely ignorant of the truth, believe that up to the time of the arrival of the English all India lay under the government of a magnificent Hindu Emperor, that all the arts and sciences flourished in the country, that all the people were happy, and that all were prosperous and well-to-do. This glorious condition, they say, was put an end to by an English invasion which effectually ruined the country. Filled with these ideas and naturally disliking the government, however beneficent, of an alien race, it is no wonder that they dream of a possible Utopia when this splendour shall be returned to their beloved land. This false belief

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is at the bottom of the unrest that has done and is doing so much harm in India.

"The volumes before us afford a complete and triumphant answer to such vain imaginings. For more than a century and a half after they had obtained from the local Hindu Governor, or Naik, a grant of land with a village or two standing on it, on which they constructed their first fort for the protection of their merchandise, the English relations with the Indians were such that their settlement became a place of refuge for all grades and classes, a place to which they fled for relief from the insufferable chaos and anarchy existing in all the country round them. One of the reasons which influenced the Naik in making the original grant was that he might have such a place near at hand to which he might resort when hard pressed by his foes. For all that long period the people of Southern India lived as best they could under conditions of almost inconceivable political confusion; and they flocked to Madras in such numbers that the population of that place increased in fifty years from 7,000 to 400,000 souls. Is it likely that they would have done so had they not looked on the English as their friends? Time after time the struggling rulers sent their families there for safety, and in the later years the Muhammadan Nawāb himself took up his residence there and built himself a palace within range of the guns of the fort. As regards the Naik's original grant in 1639, we have his own reasons given for permitting the English to settle. The merchants write to the 'Honble. Company' in London stating the terms of the grant, and adding (vol. i., p. 20):

> "'They are fayre priviledges; and may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. 'Tis Answered by himselfe. First, he desires his Countray may flurrish and grow rich; which he Conceives it will by Draweinge Merchants to him. Secondly, hee desires for his money good Horses from Persia. Thirdly, that yearly upon our Shipps

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'hee may send a servant into the Bay Bengalla, to buy him Hawks, Apes, Parratts and such-like bables [baubles]; . . . And lastly, *the fort, being made substantiall and strong, may bee able to defend his person on occasion against his insultinge Neighbours.*'

"In 1692 the President at Madras reminded the then Grand Vizier of the Mogul Emperor of the terms under which the villages had been acquired—'Wee did not take them by force you well know: it was by your Order' (vol. i., p. 579).

"In order thoroughly to understand the appalling confusion and misery that prevailed in the country during the entire period from 1639 till peace and good order were established by the English after the defeat of Tippoo Sultan, it will be well to summarize in a few words the progress of politics. Full and interesting details will be found in the Records themselves. The territories now comprised in the Madras Presidency measure about 150,000 square miles, and are therefore about a third larger than the British Isles. Down to the fourteenth century they had been governed by several different Hindu monarchies, but never by one sovereign. In that century all the Hindus of the south were drawn together, terror-stricken at the near approach from the north of the dreaded Muhammadan conquerors. United under the Hindu sovereign of Vijayanagar they kept the foe at bay for two centuries, but in 1565 were completely defeated and their capital destroyed. The King, generally called 'The Rāya,' fled southwards and took up his residence at the fortress of Chandragiri, about seventy miles north-west of Madras, reduced almost to the position of a mere titular monarch; while the whole country was plunged into confusion and anarchy by the wars of a number of local chiefs, each striving for independence. When the English merchants arrived on the coast they found Southern India seething with strife, and in this condition it practically remained for a century and

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a half. North of the Krishna River were five distinct Muhammadan kingdoms tearing at one another's throats. Supreme over them in name, but with little power, was the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, who was opposed to them all as being rebellious vassals. South of that river the whole peninsula was a battle-ground for the levies of the several Hindu leaders, who also were often opposed by their own sovereign. Each of these contending parties had his own army, which wandered over the country plundering the villages and living by exaction. The principal Moslem armies whose doings affected the south were those of Golkonda and Bijapur. Golkonda had seized territory north of Madras and was pressing southwards, being opposed by local Naiks (chiefs) and the army of the Rāya.

"The principal chiefs, holding their territories nominally from the Rāya, rented out the several tracts to 'Naiks.' These in turn farmed out the villages. When in want of money the Rāya pressed the Naiks, and these harried the village farmers for the Rāya's as well as for their own supplies. The village headmen could do no less than plunder the villagers, so that these lived in misery and destitution. Writing about the English settlement at Armagon north of Madras in 1639 the Agent told the Directors that the Hindu merchants there were 'miserable poore'* owing to 'the Naigue's continuall forcings'; and again in a later letter said:

> "'That Naigue soe pills† and pols the merchants that they are not able to Comply with their Contracts.'‡

"To add to the confusion the Mogul Emperor Shāh Jahān took the field against the rebellious Shāh of Bījapur and defeated him in the north, while the latter's southern forces ravaged the country of the Hindus and seized part of Mysore. He granted a large estate to the father of the great leader Sivaji, and so laid the foundation for the power

* Vol. i., p. 16. † Pillages. ‡ Vol. i., p. 53.

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of the Mahrattas. This was in 1637. It was in the midst of all this turmoil that the English obtained their first settlement at Madras in 1639. Three years later the Golkonda Muhammadans advanced southwards towards Madras annexing territory as they came, and the Madras Councillors write of 'Warrs and broyls increasing in this Countrey' and drawing near to them. In January, 1643, they report:

> "'This Countrie being all in Broiles, the old [Hindu] Kinge of Karnatt [Carnatic] being dead; soe is the Naique of Armagon, whose Countrie is all in the hands of the Moores . . . The warr draweing soe nere hath caused us to take ashoare . . . 4 small peice of Ordnance . . .'*

"The Naik who was friendly to the English was deposed, and his territory was given to a noble who opposed them. The latter attacked the Dutch settlement, a little north of Madras, in 1645, and making peace with them, collected an army of 50,000 men to keep off the Golkonda troops. This army lived on the country. All the efforts of the Hindus were in vain. The Muhammadan King of Bījapur conquered the country as far south as Tanjore, where he established a Mahratta dynasty; and the King of Golkonda openly assumed control of the territory in which Madras was situated, but remained on friendly terms with the foreigners.† A year or two later the armies of the Mogul Emperor entered the peninsula seeking to subdue his vassals, while the Mahrattas, now in great strength under the renowned Sivaji, attacked the new territories acquired by the King of Bījapur. We find the Madras merchants writing to the company in London in 1654:

> "'It hath been no small miserie that this poore . . . Country hath suffred any time these ten years almost . . . What the issue of theis things willbee, the Almighty onely knoweth. . . .'‡

* Vol. i., p. 21. † Vol. i., p. 76. ‡ Vol. i., p. 115.

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And in 1661: 'Wee have 5 or 6 Armies within the Compasse of 100 miles about us.'*

"Previous to this, however, in 1656, there was fighting close to Madras between the Hindus and Muhammadans, the latter plundering and burning the houses in the vicinity of the town, and in the following year the place itself was besieged for seven months. At this time the English in the fort who could bear arms were only about a dozen in number, and the company took into their employ some of the Indian townsfolk, paying them to assist in the defence.† Sivaji now assumed the title of Rajah, and warred against both Hindus and Moslems. In 1662 the Golkonda Army attacked the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé, four miles south of Madras. The next few years saw fighting all round, and the position of the English was rendered very precarious by their being for a time at open war with the Dutch, who attacked them by sea. In 1670 the Army of Golkonda blockaded the fort, while other armies hovered in the neighbourhood, and the Company were pestered by demands for money made by 'Flyinge Armies hatchinge Rebellion,'‡ each of which seemed to be acting independently.

"To increase their difficulties still further, France declared war against England in 1672; and the French drove out the Golkonda garrison from St. Thomé and seized it, while the Dutch blockaded the coast. The latter then expelled the French from St. Thomé, and handed it over to the Muhammadans, whose King befriended and assisted the English, and gave them a charter for their small possession. The Mahrattas now raided over to the east coast, took many neighbouring forts, and at the sword's point demanded aid from Madras against both Golkonda and the Moguls; and in 1684 there arose a new terror in the fact that the Mogul leaders in Bengal were making war on the English settlements there, and for a time succeeded in driving them out of the country—a situation which placed Madras in a position of antagonism to the most successful of its warring

* Vol. i., p. 197. † Vol. i., p. 167. ‡ Vol. i., p. 280.

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neighbours. It is not surprising that at this juncture the company strengthened the fortifications of Fort St. George and raised some levies amongst the native Christians, the garrison now numbering about 400 men.*

"The Mogul Emperor Aurangzīb succeeded in crushing down the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bījapur in 1686 and 1687, but rebellions sprang up on every side, and the country remained under the oppression of a lawless soldiery, and distracted by their excesses and exactions. Madras, however, was protected by the Mogul's Governor, and the Emperor renewed the charter. The Mahrattas at Ginji and Vellore were then attacked and years of strife followed, the Mogul Army not finally gaining the upper hand till 1698. Meanwhile in 1690 war again broke out between France and England, and a succession of sea fights took place. Between 1700 and 1717 Madras was threatened on several occasions. The Moslem Nawāb of the Carnatic came down on it with 10,000 men in 1701, but retired. In 1702 he blockaded it, and only raised the blockade on receipt of a heavy bribe. In 1703 the Nawāb's superior, the Subahdar of the Dekkan, only refrained from seizing the Madras villages on being boldly told that the Company would defend their property by force.† Similar attempts were made by the Nawāb in 1709, 1710, and 1712, while in 1717 a body of his troops had to be driven out by the garrison.

"About this time the Mogul Empire began to show signs of weakness, and the Emperor's Viceroy, the Subahdar of the Dekkan, revolted, and in 1724 established himself as an independent sovereign.

"The south of India was now under the heel of the Muhammadans, and the Nizam was at feud with the Nawāb of the Carnatic; so much so that he induced the Mahrattas to attack the latter's territories, and in 1735 they ravaged the country. The anarchy everywhere became worse than ever, when, in 1739, Nadir Shāh captured and sacked the

* Vol. i., p. 371. † Vol. ii., p. 19.

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Mogul capital Delhi, shaking the Moslem Empire in India to its foundations. There was another invasion of the Nawāb's country by the Mahrattas in 1740; the Nawāb himself lost his life, and his successor, Safdar Ali, sent his family for safety to Madras, which had become a place of refuge for everybody in times of difficulty and danger. Two years later Safdar Ali was assassinated by Murtazā Ali, who, against the wishes of the Nizam, tried to usurp the Nawābship. The Nizam then took the field with 120,000 men, secured the person of Safdar Ali's son, Sahib Jadda, then a minor, attacked and defeated the Mahratta invaders, and made Anwar-ud-dīn 'Nawāb of Arcot,' instead of 'Nawāb of the Carnatic'—an appointment that was followed by the murder of the unfortunate youth, Sahib Jadda.

"In 1744 there was again war between France and England, and the Madras garrison was therefore once more strengthened. Two years later the place was attacked by the French both by sea and land, the French ignoring the Nawāb's warning, issued both to them and to the English, to keep the peace. The garrison only numbered about 200 effectives, and the English were forced to capitulate; upon which the Nawāb's son, Mahfūz Khān, unwilling to allow the English to be driven out, attacked the French, but failed. Madras was restored to the British Company in 1749 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

"Enough has been said to show that for over a hundred years the English in Madras never dreamed any dream of conquest, and that their relations with the people of the country were of the best. The story could be continued, and the reasons shown why the Nawāb favoured them instead of the French; why the English assisted him; and why, after peace was made between the French and English, he gave at last a large tract of country into their charge; how, after the terrible events in Bengal culminating in the tragedy of the 'Black Hole of Calcutta,' Clive was sent up from Madras, and decisively defeated the Muhammadan Army;

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how this led to the English at last realizing their power and strengthening their position; how they were compelled by the atrocities of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, the usurpers of Hindu Mysore, to take the field against them; and finally how, with the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, they, by agreement with the Nizam, became possessed in 1800 of the territories conquered from the Hindus by Hyder and Tippoo, having previously received some districts from the Mogul Emperor. These things and much more are made plain by these Records, but space does not permit of the details being given here.

"We have used the volumes so far for one purpose only. They may be used for many others. Thus, in order to convey some idea of the sufferings of the Hindu population of the country at the hands both of their own leaders and of the conquering Muhammadans, a few extracts may be given. In perusing them it will be well to remember that since 1800, when Southern India practically came under British control, the country has been at perfect peace, good order has been everywhere introduced, taxation enormously reduced, and justice done, or attempted to be done, between every man and his neighbour. As regards taxation, it will suffice to say that immense lists of separate taxes are mentioned in the old Hindu records, whereas under the English Government all have been abolished except agricultural rent, a cess for local roads, hospitals, and the like, and an income-tax on merchants. The extracts are from the original letters and reports.

> "A.D. 1640.—'The froequent inforcements of those tyranous [Hindu] governors . . . mischeivous Attempts [of the] . . . treacherous . . . Inhabitants of that Country . . .'*
>
> "A.D. 1642.—'The [Hindu] Naique of Tanjour . . . puts in almost monthly (to him that will give most) a new Governor. . . .'†

* Vol. i., p. 37.

† Vol. i., p. 45.

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"Each new Governor, of course, sought to make what he could out of the people before he in turn was ejected.

> "A.D. 1642.—'Every Naique is a king in his owne Country. . . .'*

"They were, that is, entirely beyond the control of their nominal sovereign.

"In A.D. 1676 we read of a Hindu minister 'pilling and squeezing the people,'† and, enlarging on this, the agent at Fort St. George writes:

> "'The Government of the country is now in so bad hands, nothing but fraud and oppression, and so voyd of shame that no Creditt can be given to either agreements, [or] promises. . . . These Bramanys now in power are so wholly sett upon treachery and surprisall that there is nō relying nor confidence can be put in them.'‡

"This state of things continued. In 1714 the Company at Madras, hoping to obtain a concession of the Island of Divi, state that they think that the island will speedily be well populated when in their hands, owing to 'the insufferable usage under the Moors Government upon the main land.'§

"In 1737 the state of the people was as bad as ever.

> "'There have been frequent Robberys in the Great Townes as well as in the Roads, and the exactions of the Havildars has been so vexatious and intolerable to the Natives that several Towns and Villages have been deserted by the Inhabitants. In a word the Confusion and Disorder of the Country is exceeding great.'‖

"When, in 1725, the English authorities rented out one of their villages to a Hindu, one Mahādeva, the complaints

* Vol. i., p. 46. † Vol. i., p. 356. ‡ Vol. i., p. 357.
§ Vol. ii., p. 155. ‖ Vol. ii., p. 278.

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of his tyrannies became so urgent that they withdrew his lease and turned him out.

"That Madras really was a place of refuge for the people of the country, and that they preferred to live under the protection of the English instead of under the iron hand of their own chiefs is well shown by the fact that when, in 1681, Madras was threatened with attack by a Hindu leader, and was for a time actually blockaded by him, the Hindu residents came forward actively to assist the defence—

> "'Allsoe the Gentue and Malabar Inhabitants came and offered to maintain at their owne charge 215 men for the defence of the Towne, which was accepted of. . . . The Mallabars alsoe came and offered to entertaine 150 men for the defence of this Towne, and the Washers 25 men, which was accepted.

"The enormous and rapid growth of the population of Madras has already been mentioned.

"In 1707, when some of the Hindu residents declined to pay a certain cess for local purposes, they were compelled to do so not by any legal proceedings or by force, but by the threat that if they did not they would have to *leave the town and go back to their people.* This was quite sufficient; they submitted at once.

> "'Tis therefore unanimously agreed that they are made to pay the duty as formerly, or to leave the Place.'†

"That the attitude of the English towards the people of the country was entirely peaceful till events beyond their control forced them to increase their garrison and take the field, in the face of overwhelming danger originating in the attacks of the French, is easily shown. So far from having entertained any ideas of conquest or annexation of territory, we find that their soldiers numbered 33 in 1647,

* Vol. i., p. 439. † Vol. ii., p. 112.

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26 in 1652, 10 in 1656. In 1662, after Madras had actually been besieged, they wrote home begging for 100 swords and some good muskets, their own being so rusty that 53 of them burst on being tested. In 1678 they owned only 7 horses.* Even so late as 1744 the councillors of Madras wrote that they were very deficient in European troops:

> "'The few Europeans We have in Garrison . . . [bear so] small a proportion to the Black Soldiers that [We] are ashamed to turn out our Guards at [a time] when the Great Men of the Country come [here] . . .'†

"The volumes teem with passages showing that the English dealt with the Indians in a constant spirit of good will and sympathy. They tried their utmost, for instance, in times of famine and disaster to minimize their terrible sufferings by procuring food and help; for which purpose private subscriptions were raised as well as assistance given from the public purse.

"Colonel Love has, in giving us the whole of the original records worthy of publication, also included many very interesting passages bearing on the manners and customs of the times, as well as details of the many local squabbles and disagreements that took place amongst the leaders. Very quaint and amusing reading some of these. There is an account of the visit paid to Fort St. George in 1701 by the Nawāb, Dāūd Khān. Those who have read the autobiography of the valiant Emperor Bāber will remember how often and how sadly he departed from the tenets of the Korān with reference to the use of 'strong waters.' Dāūd Khān followed his example, and so, it is to be feared, did many of the English in those days. The Nawāb was received with great honour and entertained at a great banquet. At his reception—

* Vol. i., pp. 80, 109, 121, 170, 210, 211, 215, 452.

† Vol. ii., p. 299.

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"'The Governour sett by him two Cases of rich cordiall waters and call'd for wine, bidding him wellcome . . . The dinner consisted of about Six hundred Dishes small and great, of which the Nabob . . . eat very heartily. . . .'

"Next morning he was to have paid a visit to the ships,

"'but he having been very Drunk over night was not in a condition to go. . . .'

"He, however, asked permission to visit the company's garden instead, and after some delay the Governor proceeded thither to meet his guest. It seems that the Nabob was kept waiting for a reply from the Fort—

"'But before the Answer came to him the Nabob was got into a Portuguez Chappell very Drunk, and fell a Sleep.'

"Sleeping till the afternoon he sent his excuses to the Governor—'and desired him to send a Dozen bottles of Cordiall waters; which were sent him.'

"Some years later he wrote to the Governor and asked for 'one thousand Bottles of Liquor,' but received only 250.*

"That the English residents very often dined too well is clear from many passages in these volumes; so much so that in 1659 a certain Roger Myddleton writes to his relations at home: 'This is an expensive place, and from the drunkennesse thereof good Lord deliver me.'"

* Vol. ii., pp. 15-18.

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XXXIV

THE STATUS OF INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE

THE following extract from the *National Review* for March, 1914, is deserving of careful consideration by all who are interested in the peaceful progress of India:

"Behind the South African grievances lies the whole complex problem of the future status of Indians in the British Empire. It is a problem which will tax to the utmost the resources of British statesmanship; but it must be solved some day if we are to preserve our rule in India. We have talked far too long of holding India with the sword. In the last resort we must still do so; but 75,000 white troops will not for ever control 315,000,000 of people without their full and free consent. The task which still confronts English statesmen is that of persuading the people of India to be willing citizens of the British Empire. We have to convince them that they will be better and safer and happier and more prosperous if they remain within the Empire than if they turn their energies to schemes for passing outside it. Only by arousing India to a consciousness of the advantages of the British connection, and to a realization of the dangers which will beset the country if it drifts apart, can we hope to maintain our administration in the stormy days which assuredly lie ahead. But what does British citizenship mean for Indians? The question is being asked by many thoughtful Indians to-day, and no very satisfactory answer is forthcoming. The Englishman, the white dweller in the Dominions, can pass at will throughout the Empire, certain of protection and free movement. The Indian who leaves his own country finds almost impassable barriers erected

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against him in the self-governing Dominions. He is a British subject, he may be sober, industrious, loyal, a clean and honest liver; but his rights of British citizenship will not carry him into South Africa, or Canada, or Australia. Not unnaturally he asks how he can be expected to cling to the British Crown, or to fight for the British Empire, when he is treated as unworthy of admittance to many of its most favoured lands.

"Lord Morley said once that if we would understand the Indian peoples aright, we must try to get into their skins. Let me quote words recently uttered by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula, an extremely able and loyal Muhammadan who has worked for many years as an unofficial member of various administrative bodies. He is a man of calm judgment and moderate views, and in the following passage he expresses the attitude of most intelligent Indians to-day:

"'The wider question can no longer be postponed, but must now be faced, and that question is, "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire?" Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of His Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious Proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocal manner that we are citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada, and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have therefore every right to ask the British Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

"'If the answer to the question is in the affirmative,

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England has got to exercise the power which legally vests in her to ensure to us such rights and privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organize means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity. Retaliation is a bad word, but it has been freely used in this connection, and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for. . . .

"'We shall have to consider and devise means which, while being perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian officials are supporting our cause and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English press is sufficiently outspoken. We have therefore to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against component parts of the mighty British Empire, but the fault entirely lies with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course from the Imperial standpoint will be deplorable.'

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"There is the issue from the Indian point of view, packed small; and when the controversy grows more acute, as it is bound to do, it is to be hoped that responsible statesmen in the Dominions will realize that the Indian point of view cannot be ignored in England. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula's too expansive conception of the powers and responsibilities of English Ministers need not be examined. The thing to remember is that if the problem is not some day solved, our position in India may be imperilled. It is not merely the problem of settling the exact conditions upon which Indians may obtain access to the Dominions. It is far more a problem of finding some form of settlement which will make them content with their status as British citizens. At present they are *not* content; the grievances of their countrymen breed hostility; and we cannot afford to permit the development of further hostility to our rule if remedies exist. The retention of India, and of a contented India, is essential to the well-being of the Empire as a whole. The sea-borne trade of India is the largest within the Empire, save only that of the United Kingdom. India sends far more food and raw material to this country than any of the Dominions. She purchases far more British produce and manufactures than any of the Dominions, and her needs make her the mainstay of the cotton mills of Lancashire. The permanent estrangement of the people of India, with its consequent results upon trade, would mean the infliction of a vital blow upon our national prosperity. Moreover, it is estimated that £350,000,000 of British capital is in various ways invested in India. The problem, looked at in this way, cuts deep. It ceases to be a matter of taxes and licences in South Africa, and becomes an issue fraught with the most momentous meaning. The Dominions should not ignore these aspects of the question, for they in their turn are deeply concerned. The welfare of the Empire means the welfare of all its component and interdependent parts.

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"On the other hand, Indians such as Mr. Gokhale and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula, who really speak for their countrymen, may be counselled to remember certain considerations which are not very visible in their speeches. The fact is that not only for Indians, but for all subjects of the Crown, there is often a very great difference between the theory of British citizenship and the practice of its rights. I have said that the Englishman can pass at will throughout the Empire, but in practice that is not really the case. Canada, for instance, occasionally rejects British immigrants on various grounds, the chief ones being poverty and physical incapacity. Australia can exercise somewhat similar powers. We need not go outside India to discover that States controlling their own affairs by no means maintain an open door. The protected States of India are under the suzerainty of the British Crown, but they possess, and frequently exercise, the right to exclude not only Englishmen, but even British Indians, from their territories. The laws which prevent Englishmen from acquiring land in various protected States of India are sometimes regarded as a considerable grievance. Most great communities in the world, both within and outside the British Empire, now claim and employ the right to scrutinize strangers and, if necessary, to refuse entry within their borders. One meets with curious examples when travelling. In Canada—I think at Moose Jaw—I was once called upon to pay a poll-tax of many dollars before being permitted to cross into the United States. The reason was that, although a European, I happened to have entered the American Continent from the Far East.

"Indians must exercise patience in regard to the larger claims they base upon their status as British citizens. They are perfectly justified in pressing, within reasonable bounds, for some amelioration of the lot of their countrymen who have been already admitted to the self-governing Dominions. Happily in South Africa there now seems some prospect of an amicable settlement of Indian grievances,

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the rights and wrongs of which I shall not further discuss here. The larger plea for freedom to move and to live anywhere in the Empire is another matter. The time is not ripe for its consideration; probably it will never be ripe; and it may be added that at present there seems no sufficient reason why it should ever ripen. The disabilities of Indians in South Africa and Canada are things apart, which should be dealt with in a conciliatory way. The claim for free movement for all is not now a substantial grievance, and never has been. Enormous though the population of India is, there is room enough for all, and to spare, within the confines of the Indian Empire. India is not over-populated, but the population requires redistribution in certain areas; and it is also necessary to detach a larger proportion from the land and induce them to follow industrial pursuits. If Natal planters require Indian hands, so do employers of labour in India, who are constantly complaining of the difficulty they find in getting men. Far from desiring to emigrate, the bulk of the Indian peoples still shrink with dismay from the prospect of crossing the Black Water. India has not sent of her best to South Africa and Canada. The Sikh, in particular, seems to degenerate in the atmosphere of British Columbia. For these and other reasons, it may be held that the claim of the spokesmen of India for a more ample and practical definition of their rights of citizenship—if any—in the Dominions has no conspicuous urgency. It may well await the time when India is in a more advanced state of development, and when the Dominions have grown to greater maturity.

"There remains, however, one duty which is now incumbent upon the Dominions. They should make access to their territories easier for Indians of good standing who are simply travellers and have no desire to settle overseas. Accredited Indians of position should be permitted to travel in the Dominions with as much freedom as Englishmen. The concession of better facilities to them would go a long way to ease the present strain."

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XXXV

THE INDO-CEYLON CONNECTION*

THE Indo-Ceylon Connection is one of those feats of engineering and railway enterprise which, in a measure, reconcile our minds to the legends which centre round the heroes of mythology. We are led to wonder if the exhibitions of physical prowess attributed to Hanuman or Hercules had not, after all, some foundation in fact. If, to-day, the South Indian Railway Company could establish a connection between the mainland of India and the sacred island of Rameswaram, defying wind and wave, four-square against the elements, the question naturally suggests itself, Why should it not have been possible for beings endowed with superhuman strength to anticipate the railway company in ever so crude a fashion? The unerring instinct which led Rama to choose the most likely spot to throw his bridge on, with the rude materials at his hand, and the scientific insight which has enabled the railway engineers to light exactly on the same spot and raise their imposing works with cement concrete and steel ribs, point to one conclusion: engineering geniuses think alike and shake hands across the centuries. Standing on the promontory of Dhanushkodi, we almost imagine that the mainland of Ceylon heaves in sight, and the *motif* of the great Epic, Ramayana, unfolds itself to our mental vision with startling suddenness, and an air of reality is lent to it all by the full-throated chorus of the prayers and supplications of the pious pilgrims assembled at the bathing point in which the names of Rama and Ravana are uttered with insistent frequency. But what a difference! If, in the age of the

* From the *Wednesday Review*, January 7, 1914.

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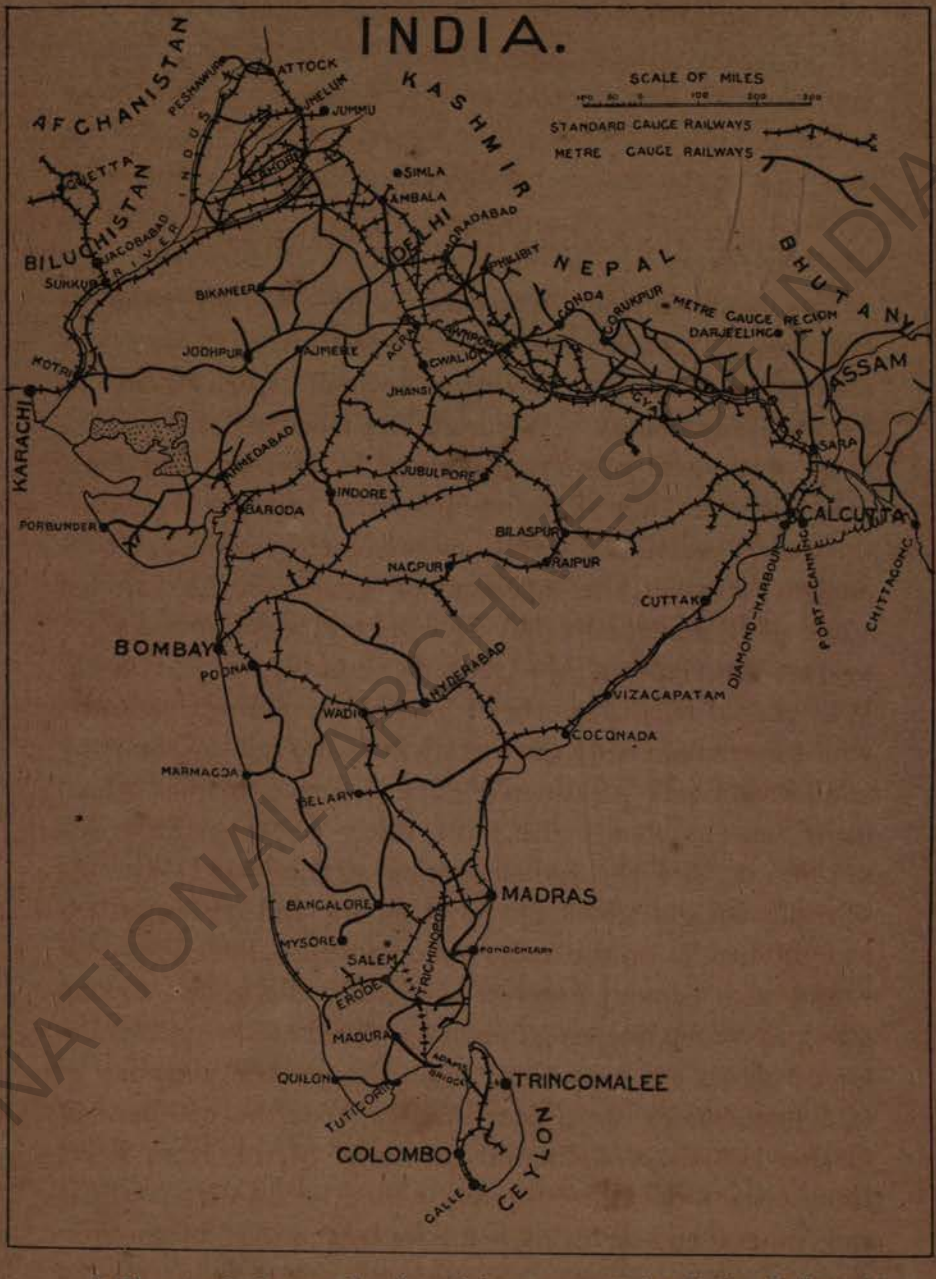

* The standard gauge line from Salem to meet the Ceylon Railway is only a suggestion of Sir Guilford Molesworth in the paper read by him before the East India Association.

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Epic, the bridge was meant to cross over to Lanka to destroy an enemy, to-day it is designed to bring Ceylon nearer home, and grasp the hand of fellow-men of a kindred civilization. The realization of the design will be fuller still if the thirty-three islands lying between Dhanushkodi and Ceylon be successfully negotiated, and railway connection is pushed right up to Ceylon, a scheme which, we believe, is on the tapis of the Railway Board, and which is estimated to cost over a crore and a quarter of rupees. The same principle of construction will have to be applied as in the case of the Pamban Reef works. If we may judge from what has been already achieved, there is no reason why it should be impossible to establish a connection by rail between India and Ceylon.

Now to give the reader an idea of the Indo-Ceylon Connection at present completed. The viaduct which connects Pamban with Rameswaram is an astonishing piece of engineering skill. It is built on the top of Pamban Sandstone Reef. It is nearly a mile and a third long, and consists of 145 spans of 40 feet each; 112 of them being on the west side of the Pamban channel, and 33 on the other side. The Scherzer Rolling Lift Bridge across the channel is 200 feet long. It consists of what are technically called "leaves," which are lifted up to allow steamers and sailing craft to pass the channel. Though the lifting and lowering are done apparently without effort, the process really involves the application of enormous pressure; but the mechanism is so well and so nicely adjusted, that it requires only about half a dozen common coolies to work it, and the railway train glides along merrily, as if on terra-firma. The Scherzer Bridge is an American invention, and is, perhaps, the latest word in bridge-making. The South Indian Railway Company may well pride itself on the fact that the bridge is the first of its kind in India, which speaks to the up-to-dateness of its enterprise. The bridge obviates the necessity of enduring a couple of hours' misery in a steam-launch between Mandapan and Rame-

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swaram. The pious pilgrim to Rameswaram may now feel at ease, and loll nonchalantly in the railway carriage, unmindful of the sullen silence or the defiant roar of the sea right below his feet. That is a big boon to the pilgrims, which they will not fail to appreciate. The viaduct and the Scherzer Bridge have between them cost the company about twenty-three lakhs of rupees. Another achievement of the company is the construction of two marine piers, north and south, at Dhanushkodi. They have been so constructed as to suit monsoon conditions, thus facilitating the landing of passengers at all seasons of the year. The piers are of what is described as the cast-iron screw-pile type, with two railway tracks on each. Each pier is 710 feet long and 34 feet broad, and the two have been built at a cost of five and a half lakhs. It is difficult to give a pen-picture of the solid grandeur of the piers; to adopt the phraseology of public posters, they must be seen to be properly admired. The one great advantage of the piers is that the passengers to Ceylon have only to step from them on board one of the three steamers of the company, *Elgin*, *Curzon*, and *Hardinge*, which will carry the passengers to their destination in the space of an hour and a quarter; so that the present route has shortened the voyage by sea from ten hours to an hour and a quarter, and the traveller to Jaffna need not go to Colombo first and traverse the whole length of Ceylon to reach his destination. From Dhanushkodi to Thalaimannar, a distance of twenty-two miles, it is only a matter of less than two hours' pleasant sail on board a turbine steamer, 260 feet long and 38 feet broad, fitted up with all modern appliances for the comfort of the passengers.

This, in brief, is an account of the route laid by the South Indian Railway Company at a cost of nearly seventy lakhs of rupees, for which the latest engineering inventions and appliances have been requisitioned. From a commercial point of view, the advantages of the route are obvious, while on the thousands of Hindu pilgrims to

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Ramaswaram the railway company has conferred a boon which cannot be estimated in rupees, annas, and pies. The old and the infirm, the maimed and the halt, who have been yearning a lifetime for a dip into the sea at Dhanushkodi, are now enabled to fulfil their desire or keep a vow long cherished without the discomfort or the danger of a wearisome journey in a country cart. They can now step into the sea, so to say, straight from the railway train. What the new route means these alone can realize best, and in the recesses of their hearts they will bless the agency which placed within their reach the means of obtaining the salvation of their souls. From a strategic standpoint, the Connection is of great value as adding to the possibility of converting the Dhanushkodi-Pamban region into a military outpost or naval base. Years ago a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* wrote: "Nor is it simply the number of the British colonies or the evenness with which they are distributed that challenges our admiration. The positions which these colonies occupy and their natural military strength are quite as important facts. There is not a sea or a gulf in the world which has any real commercial importance but England has a stronghold on its shores. And wherever the continents trending southwards come to points, around which the commerce of nations must sweep, there is a British settlement, and the Cross of St. George salutes you as you are wafted by. There is hardly a little, desolate, rocky island or peninsula, formed apparently by Nature for a fortress and nothing else, but the British flag floats securely over it." If the region about Pamban develops into a military outpost, it will be only another instance of the military foresight and sagacity of the British.

Considered from whatever standpoint, the Indo-Ceylon Connection is of rare value to the country. Planned by Mr. Neville Priestley, the managing director; pushed on to its completion by the unresting vigilance of the Hon. Mr. A. Muirhead, C.I.E., the agent, and under the able

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direction of Mr. J. T. Lewis, chief engineer, with the assistance of Mr. H. P. O'Shaughnessy, the engineer in-charge, whose expert knowledge, abounding enthusiasm for the work entrusted to him, and indomitable energy, mark him out as one of the ablest engineers of the day; the Indo-Ceylon Connection will be a lasting monument of the skill and enterprise of the South Indian Railway Company, and will have earned for it the blessings of the thousands of Hindu pilgrims who press to Rameswaram from all points of the compass, and of the millions of pilgrims yet unborn.

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XXXVI

MORE ABOUT THE WONDERS OF IRRIGATION IN INDIA

In continuation of Leaflet XV. on "The Wonders of Irrigation in the Punjab," it will be interesting to bring up to date the facts as to the further irrigation of that province and India generally, as related by Sir John Benton in the following extracts from a most interesting paper read by him before the Royal Society of Arts on May 29, 1913. Referring to what is called the triple canal project in the Punjab, he says:

"The brilliant results attained on the Punjab open canals are eloquent testimony to the good services rendered by the irrigation officers as regards the scheming, execution, and management of the works, and to the equally good services of the revenue officers with regard to colonization and revenue questions. The greatest success of all is the Lower Chenab Canal, the best canal on this earth. This work alone earns about 60 per cent. of the total net profits, while it irrigated about $2\frac{1}{8}$ million acres in the year 1911-12.

"1. New Works in the Punjab

"The excellent results attained on the Lower Chenab Canal by the irrigation of vast prairie tracts led to the submission in 1901 of a project for the irrigation of the great area of waste land in the Montgomery Bar by a canal taking out of the Sutlej below the confluence of the Beas River. This project was very carefully prepared by

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Mr. S. Preston, C.I.E., and it was a good one, showing a high return of 9·33 per cent.

"Mr. (now Sir) James Wilson, K.C.S.I., in a note dated October 22, 1901, to the address of the Indian Irrigation Commission, recommended that the Lower Bari Doab tract should be irrigated by Jhelum and Chenab surplus water supplies, so that these might not for ever be wasted, that the Sutlej waters should be reserved for the arid tracts east of that river, so that these might not be perpetually deprived of the benefits of irrigation, and that the Lower Bari Doab tract in the Mooltan District might be served by a canal taking out of the Chenab below the confluence of that river with the Jhelum, while an extension of the Gugera branch could be made to serve the Montgomery Bar. The proposal to reserve the Sutlej water for the eastern bank of that river and the irrigation of the Lower Bari Doab with Jhelum and Chenab water was a perfectly original and a most valuable proposal, which has been adopted with a profound effect on all that subsequently followed. The proposals for canal works to effect the irrigation of the Lower Bari Doab could not be carried out, because the proposed canal from the confluence of the rivers would not command any part of the Lower Bari Doab, while the Chenab River has no surplus waters to be passed down the Gugera branch.

"In a note, dated May 1, 1902, or about six months after Sir James Wilson's note referred to above, the late Colonel S. L. Jacob, R.E., C.I.E., advised the Indian Irrigation Commission to have the river waters disposed of as proposed by the former officer. Colonel Jacob proposed to irrigate the southern part of the Lower Chenab Canal by a supply of water passed down the Lower Jhelum Main Canal (southern branch), with escape to the Chenab River, on which a weir would be constructed to force water into a new canal cutting across the Lower Chenab system and passing Amipur and Tarkhani. The water now used on this southern part would then become available to send

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down the Gugera branch into the Ravi River, where it would be available for feeding a new Lower Bari Doab Canal. The objections to this proposal were that the Lower Chenab Canal supply set free in this manner would only have amounted to about two-thirds of that required for the Lower Bari Doab tract, and that the Lower Chenab Canal would have been very much spoiled by being mutilated in the manner which was proposed, while the proposed alignment would have caused water-logging in course of time.

"On my return from Burma to the Punjab, where I was posted as chief engineer, I found that the late Colonel Jacob's proposals were under investigation; and while taking over charge I was cautioned by my predecessor that, however much I disliked mutilation of the grand Lower Chenab Canal, I should be quite powerless in preventing this occurring. I at once despatched survey parties to determine whether it would be feasible to bring the Jhelum water into the Chenab River above Khanki weir, and after some weeks I ascertained that an off-take, near Mangla Fort, would have the requisite command; the doubtful question was whether the cost would be such as would be warrantable, since it was clear that the Upper Jhelum channel from Mangla would be most costly. The schemes of Sir James Wilson and the late Colonel Jacob were only for irrigation of the Lower Bari Doab tract, and were single-canal projects. I found that the single project would be prohibitive in cost when the unavoidable expenditure on the Upper Jhelum channel was added, and this suggested to me the necessity of finding further sources of revenue. The surveys of the Upper Jhelum, as they proceeded, showed scope for an Upper Jhelum Canal, and to this I added the Upper Chenab Canal. I am solely responsible for first initiating and advancing the Punjab Triple Canal Project for the acceptance of the Local and Imperial Governments, but I should never have had an opportunity of evolving this scheme if Sir James Wilson

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had not previously formulated his proposal for irrigating the Lower Bari Doab with Jhelum and Chenab River water. I wish to acknowledge my great obligations to the very able staff of Punjab Irrigation officers for the rapid executing of the excellent surveys which this case required. After I had determined the feasibility of the Triple Canal Project, the pronouncement of the Indian Irrigation Commission against the Sutlej Lower Bari Doab Project was received. On the late Sir Thomas Higham visiting Lahore shortly afterwards I furnished him with the particulars of the new scheme, which are exhibited in the sketch-map given at p. 16, vol. ii., and in paragraphs 36 and 37 of the Indian Irrigation Commission Report, and which will be seen to differ widely from the *ad interim* recommendations of that body, who never contemplated a Triple Canal Project until this was evolved, as just mentioned.

"The Triple Canal Project, Punjab, is shown on the provincial irrigation map, and the general arrangements are as follows: The Jhelum River carries a surplus supply of water in the cold weather, but neither the Chenab nor the Ravi Rivers have any surplus water in this season, while the vast arid Montgomery Bar calls for irrigation. The Upper Jhelum Canal will draw off water from the river of that name, and will irrigate the 345,000 acres under this work, and pass the unused balance into the Chenab River above the existing weir at Khanki. As much water as is thus discharged into the Chenab will be drawn off at Merala for the supply of the Upper Chenab Canal which will irrigate 648,000 acres, and also convey the requisite supply to Bulloki new weir on the Ravi. The Lower Bari Doab Canal will take off above Bulloki weir, and will, it is estimated, irrigate 878,000 acres in the Montgomery Bar.

"No river weir will be required at the head of the Upper Jhelum Canal, as there is a natural one in the river a short distance below the off-take. A very heavy cutting has to

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be carried out in the head reach of three miles, and this work is now in progress both day and night. The Upper Jhelum Canal has been a work of great difficulty, owing to the numerous hill torrents to be crossed, the largest of which discharges 150,000 cubit feet per second when in flood; in most cases the drainages are syphoned under the canal, but in four cases level crossings have been found necessary. In the lower part of the Upper Jhelum Canal the formidable Bhimber torrent had to be negotiated, and the arrangement is to pass both torrent and canal down the same channel to the Chenab River. The Upper Jhelum Canal will be completed in the autumn of 1914, or, at latest, in the spring of 1915. The Punjab Government have been fortunate in having in charge of this very difficult work Mr. R. E. Purves, Superintending Engineer, one of the ablest and most resourceful of irrigation officers, and the very good progress made has been largely due to him.

"The water in the Chenab River is diverted into the Upper Chenab Canal by very strong head-works, which give complete command of the river. Execution of this work was attended with many difficulties, which were all most successfully overcome by Mr. H. W. M. Ives, who was in charge of it from start to finish. The work consists of a weir about 4,000 feet in length, surmounted with 6-feet falling shutters, scouring sluices operated by steel gates and gearing, and a canal-head regulator. The formidable Deg River used to lay hundreds of square miles of the southern part of the tract to be served by the canal under water, and thus limited agricultural operations, while causing great loss. This river has been diverted to the Ravi with great benefit to the people, while facilitating irrigation operations. The Upper Chenab Canal was opened for irrigation in 1912, and in the first year it irrigated 200,000 acres. The excellent progress made was very largely due to Messrs. J. J. Mullaly and W. E. T. Bennett, late chief engineers in the Punjab.

"The Lower Bari Doab is the last of the Triple Project

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Canals on which I have to offer some remarks. The head-work consists of a weir giving 1,400 lineal feet of waterway. Regulation is effected by wide steel gates throughout the whole length of the weir, and by a canal-head regulator. These works afford complete command of the river. The canal and distributory construction is in a very advanced state, but colonization of the high arid lands cannot be commenced until completion of the Upper Jhelum Canal will admit of a perennial supply of water being provided. The gross commanded area is 1,637,000 acres, and 1,458,468 acres of this consist of Crown waste lands, most of which is of excellent quality. As in the case of the other colonies, the waste lands will all be divided up into squares or rectangles of the same area, which will facilitate colonization and all subsequent assessment operations. The advanced state of the work on this canal is due to the energetic administration of Mr. F. C. Rose, Superintending Engineer, under whose direction the head-works were completed in record time by Mr. C. B. Williams, Executive Engineer. The Lower Bari Doab Canal was opened for irrigation of the low lands on April 12 last by the Hon. Sir Louis Dane, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

"The effect of the Triple Canal Project, when fully developed, will be to increase the present average annual irrigation of 6,559,280 acres to 8,430,515 acres, or by 28 per cent. The new canals, when fully developed, will absorb a great deal of labour.

"2. Works in Operation in Sind

"The characteristics of Sind are a very dry climate with a high temperature, a very low average rainfall, varying from 5 inches in the north to 10 inches at Karachi, and complete dependence of cultivation on irrigation. The only sources of supply of water for irrigation are the Indus, and, to a negligible extent, wells. Most of the canals in Sind existed in some form or other before the advent of British rule; but all of them have been greatly improved,

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and most of them extended. All the canals are inundation ones, there being no works on the Indus to divert water into them. However, four of the canals usually carry moderate perennial supplies. The area of irrigation and revenue are about equally distributed between productive works executed from loan funds, minor works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept, and minor works for which only revenue accounts are kept. There is another class, designated agricultural works, which comprise embankment and river works.

"The percentages of increase in the twenty-four years ending with 1910-11 were as follows: Capital expenditure, 167 per cent.; irrigated area, 48 per cent.; net revenue, 62 per cent.; net profit, 51 per cent. These increases are highly satisfactory, and reflect great credit on the irrigation officers who have been responsible for the management of the works, and also on the revenue officers who assess all canal revenues in this province. The average area of irrigation in Sind is about 3,000,000 acres, while the net profit, after meeting working expenses and interest charges, is about £200,000 per annum.

"Proposed New Works in Sind

"The Indian Irrigation Commission were of opinion that the requirements of Sind would be met by improvement of the existing canals, and by collection of information which would be of use in considering the question of constructing a barrage on the river at Sukkur. Some departure in advance of these measures has been found necessary under the following circumstances. The Commission were under the impression that the barrage was mainly required for the right bank, while it is chiefly needed for the left bank; that the extent of lift irrigation is 25 per cent., whereas on the left bank it is 52 per cent. in Northern Hyderabad, 84 per cent. in Central Hyderabad, and 30 per cent. on the Fuleli Canal tract; that the minimum supply of the Indus is 30,000 to 35,000 cubic feet per second, whereas it is on

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from 19,000 to 20,000 cubic feet per second. Since the Irrigation Commission made their recommendations the Triple Canal Project, Punjab, and the Upper Swat Canal have been sanctioned, and are now approaching completion. The construction of a barrage on the Indus, along with a canal system, will occupy at least ten years, and if we wait and see the effect of the known withdrawals up-country and others which are to follow, we may see a ruined Sind. Apart from these considerations the existing irrigation in Sind is very inferior, since the inundation canals only afford fifty to sixty days of full supply per annum as compared with 180 days afforded by perennial canals, while the water-rates are only about half of those obtained on good perennial canals elsewhere.

"The available supplies in the Indus and its affluents have been fully investigated, as well as the future requirements for cold weather supply; and it has been found that the available supplies are unlikely to be adequate to meet the requirements of proposed works in the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, the Native States in the Punjab and Sind. The day will come when the Indus will be laid as dry as the river-beds now are below Khanki, Madhopore, and Rupar weirs on the Punjab affluents. It is likely that in the future weirs will be required across the Indus at Mithankote, Sukkur, and Kotri, in Sind. The Sukkur site is the best and most important site, and it is proposed to commence with a weir there.

"A project for the Sukkur Barrage Canal System was recently submitted to the Secretary of State for India for sanction. The estimate amounts to Rs. 781,70,727 (£5,211,382). This project provides for a weir across the river, a lock for river navigation, widening of the existing Eastern Nara Canal, construction of a new left bank (Rohri) canal, and a new canal for Khairpur State. The execution of this scheme, according to a thirteen-year programme, is estimated, when fully developed in eleven more years, to confer the benefits of assured irrigation on

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1,347,347 acres which now receive a precarious supply, and to 588,703 acres of new irrigation; the total area to be irrigated will thus be 1,936,050 acres, or, say, 2,000,000 acres. The *extra* revenue due to the work is estimated at Rs. 44,07,702 (£293,847), inclusive of enhanced land revenue, or Rs. 38,59,457 (£257,297), exclusive of enhanced land revenue. The returns on the capital expenditure for these two cases will be 5·10 per cent. and 4·17 per cent. respectively. These are the results after deducting Rs. 28,42,826 (£189,522), the net revenues of the present inundation canals which are to be superseded; if this deduction had not to be made, the returns on the capital expenditure would be 8·39 per cent. and 7·18 per cent. respectively for the two cases just mentioned.

"The general effect of executing the Sukkur Barrage and Rohri Canal Project will be to supply flow irrigation to an area of about 500,000 acres, for which water has now to be lifted; to substitute an assured for a precarious supply to existing irrigation, and to extend the area by 42 per cent.; to add greatly to the production of cotton; and to obviate damage to a large part of Sind by the ever-increasing withdrawals of water in the Punjab. The construction of the barrage will offer facilities for the execution hereafter of the right bank canal.

"The total amount of water to be withdrawn from the Indus at Sukkur will eventually be considerably in excess of the maximum flood discharge of the Thames. The maximum flood discharge of the river which has hitherto been observed is 900,000 cubic feet per second, or twenty-two times as much as the Thames is said to discharge; it is proposed to adapt the barrage for passing 1,500,000 cubic feet per second. The Sukkur barrage will have a length of 5,410 feet from abutment to abutment. There is a rock foundation all across the river, and the right half of the work will be built solid up from the rock; in the case of the left-hand half of the work, the rock is at too low a level to be availed of, and the form of weir successfully

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used in the Punjab will be adopted. The barrage will be surmounted throughout with 8-feet falling shutters, according to the design which I recommended for acceptance.

"3. Works in Operation in Madras Presidency

"The rainfall in the Madras Presidency is partly derived from the south-west monsoon, which usually continues from about June to September, and partly from the north-east monsoon, which usually continues from October to January. The rainfall in the central table-land varies from 20 to 50 inches. The only tracts which are fully protected and safe against scarcity and famine are Canara and Malabar on the west coast; parts of Vizagapatam and Tinnevelly on the east coast, and the various tracts which are now protected by irrigation works. There have been six periods of famine or scarcity in the last eighty years. The irrigation works comprise the following two main classes: (1) All the more important works which have been constructed, restored, enlarged, or extended by the British Government and for which capital and revenue accounts are kept. (2) The remaining works, many of which have existed from time immemorial, and which are chiefly composed of tanks and small river works. There are about 40,000 of these works—3,460 are under the Public Works Department; 31,376 are managed by the revenue officers; whilst 5,164 are managed by the *rayats*.

"The total irrigation of the Presidency is about equally divided between these two classes of works. With very few exceptions there was a certain area of irrigation under and revenue from all the works for which capital accounts are kept before any funds of this kind were expended on them; and it has been customary to deduct this old revenue in showing what was due to the improvements.

"In the twenty-four years ending with 1910-11, the percentages of increase in this period have been:—Capital outlay, 43 per cent.; irrigated area, 22 per cent.; net revenue,

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44 per cent.; annual profit, 49 per cent. After covering working expenses and interest charges the Madras irrigation works now yield Government a net profit of over £1,000,000 per annum. Very careful management on the part of the irrigation and revenue officers has characterized the administration of the past. The total irrigated area in the triennium 1910-12 was, on the average, about 7,194,000 acres annually, the second largest in India, being only second to the Punjab area.

"NEW WORKS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY

"On visiting Madras the Indian Irrigation Commission recommended investigation of the Tungabhadra, Kurnool-Cuddapah, Cauvery, and Kistna major projects, and they also advised investigation of the possibilities for small projects. Preliminary investigations for several works were in hand when the Commission arrived in Madras. Investigations continued for several years, and the net results as regards the more important large projects were as follows: The Tungabhadra project was abandoned as being too costly to construct, and too uncertain as regards the revenue returns, which would largely depend on the uncertain irrigation of black soil. A productive scheme has been devised for the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal extension. The earlier projects for the Cauvery and Kistna projects have been improved on. A productive project has been devised for the Bhavani River.

"Ninety per cent. of the proposed works will comply with productive work conditions, and if all are executed they would add 20 per cent. to the present irrigated area in the Presidency. The estimates for the works Nos. 1 to 3 are now under the consideration of the Government of India. The results of the investigations show that there is great scope for the extension of irrigation in Madras.

"The Cauvery Reservoir will store 80,000 million cubic feet of water above sill-level. The masonry dam will have

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a maximum height of 193 feet. This project will solely depend on the storage of flood-waters, since the present supply of unstored water is fully utilized.

"The circumstances which arise in the case of the Kistna Project are peculiar. It is desired to hold up the water to a sufficiently high level to irrigate a large part of the Guntur district, which receives no irrigation at present; part of the stored water will also be used for the delta tract. The Kistna River carries a large amount of sediment, and it is recognized that the river water from June to August would speedily silt up the reservoir. Hence the proposal is to store only the clear water of September. From June until August the masonry dam will act as a high pick-up weir. I was connected with the inception of this project, but have not had the advantage of seeing it in the final form in which it has been submitted for sanction.

"The new works which have been under construction in the last decade comprise the Divi pumping scheme, the Mopad Reservoir Project, and the Nagavalli Project; the first and last of these are finished. The Divi scheme was of a novel character; the fresh water brought down by the river in the flood season remains to a large extent near the mouth of the river in the sea, and this water is pumped on to Divi Island and is used for irrigation. The average area of irrigation in the triennium 1908-11 was 19,000 acres; up to now the project has been worked at a loss, but it is still in its infancy, and better results may be got in future. The principal advancement in Madras in the past decade has been the investigation and preparation of detailed projects; the progress in the next decade can, and doubtless will, consist in vigorous execution of new works. The excellent work which has been done in the preparation of projects in the last decade is largely due to Mr. F. J. Wilson, C.I.E., and Mr. Cecil Smith, C.I.E., the previous Chief Engineers for Irrigation, Mr. H. Clark, the present Chief Engineer, and to Colonel W. M. Ellis, R.E., Superintending Engineer.

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4. Works in Operation in Burma

The Burmans were very keen on irrigation, and only failed where it was necessary to construct enduring weirs over the largest rivers. The Schwetachaung Canal, Mandalay district; the extensive group of canals, Kyaukse district; Meiktila Lake, the Mu Canal, Shwebo district; and the Salin and Man Canals, Minbu district, are a few of the more important old works. During King Thebaw's reign the works were allowed to get into very bad order and the area of irrigation to decrease. The rainfall in Lower Burma is adequate for the cultivation of rice, and all the irrigation works are located in Upper Burma where the rainfall varies from 27 inches to 40 inches, the principal crop being rice.

"After the annexation of Upper Burma, the development of irrigation proceeded rapidly under the vigorous administration of Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province who had a perfect knowledge of requirements and possibilities. The old Burman works were restored, improved and extended. Surveys were carried out for the Mandalay, Shwebo and Mon Canals, which resulted in the execution of canal projects which now bear these names. The Irrawaddy River is too large and at too low a level to be utilized for irrigation purposes, and attention was, therefore, devoted to utilization of its affluents in the dry zone. There were special reasons for executing the Mandalay Canal, and also the Shwebo Canal. Mandalay was the capital of Thebaw, the last Burman King, and a very large population was collected at this centre; abolition of Burman rule withdrew the means of livelihood of a considerable part of the people. The construction of the Mandalay Canal has converted a large part of the district into a vast sheet of rice cultivation, and has greatly added to the prosperity of Mandalay town. Shwebo was the capital previous to Mandalay; the cultivation in the district was precarious, the population was large, and periodical

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migrations in large numbers to the rice-fields of Lower Burma in search of labour were customary. The opening of the Shwebo Canal has afforded these poor people suitable employment on their own lands, and Shwebo is now one of the richest districts of Upper Burma. The Mon Canals were found to be productive works, and have been opened for irrigation.

"The embankment reclamation works of Lower Burma correspond to irrigation works in other provinces, and this is my reason for venturing to offer some remarks on these exceedingly remunerative undertakings which have been so advantageous for Government and also for the Burmans.

"There are a few embankment works on the Pegu and Sittang Rivers, but these are minor works, and I will pass on to the Irrawaddy River embankments, all of which are located in the great delta measuring 140 miles on the sea and 200 miles from north to south on the river.

"The Irrawaddy is a mighty river, discharging about 1,900,000 cubic feet per second in the highest floods, or about forty-seven times as much as the Thames. The width of the river varies from one to four miles in flood. The depth varies from 40 feet to 60 feet at the upper end of the delta, with a range between high and low water of 40 feet. The surface fall of the river in high flood is about 5 inches per mile.

"The rainfall is ample for the cultivation of rice, and the object of the embankments is to prevent flooding by the river. The high ground lies along the river and its various effluents, and the embankments are required to prevent flooding. In 1862 attention was called to the subject of embankments by the failure of some light works constructed by the cultivators with the approval of the civil officers. The matter was referred to the Government of India who deputed Colonel Short to devise a scheme for systematic embanking of the river. Colonel Short advised embanking the right side for 130 miles from the delta apex and shutting off of the Great Bassein River effluent. It

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was found impracticable to shut off this effluent, and a great part of the main river embankment, known as the Henzada section, remained ineffective, while protecting only a narrow belt ten miles in width. The remedial measure was applied by Mr. H. J. Richard, late Chief Engineer in Burma, who carried on the embankment down the Bassein River for about eighty miles. This was the evolution of the figure which all the subsequent embankments assumed. Previous to the execution of the embankments cultivation was restricted to small patches along the main river, and beyond this 10 to 12 feet of elephant grass and swamps prevailed in the interior. The execution of the embankments has resulted in most of the projected areas being converted into sheets of excellent rice cultivation.

"The local government proposed in 1867 to embank the left side of the river, but the Government of India was unable to accept this proposal, since double embanking of rivers has led to very serious results elsewhere, and especially in China.

"The name of Mr. Robert Gordon, M.I.C.E., will ever be remembered in connection with the advancement of the reclamation works in Burma.

5. "SUMMARY FOR STATE IRRIGATION WORKS IN ALL INDIA

"The following table shows the developments effected on the works now in operation in the twenty-four years ending with the triennium 1908-11. The percentages of the advancements in this triennium over the figures for 1887-90 are: Capital outlay, 55; irrigated area, 68; net revenue, 123; return on capital outlay, 43; and on net profit, 200.

Triennium.	Capital Outlay.	Area.	Value of Crops.	Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue.	Direct Profit to Government.	Percentage of Net Revenue on Capital Outlay.
1908-1911	31·49	22·10	51·74	5·17	3·42	2·28	10·76
1905-1908	30·32	21·88	48·25	4·82	3·17	2·03	10·44
1902-1905	28·78	20·09	43·66	4·37	2·80	1·68	9·71
1899-1902	26·66	19·06	39·67	3·97	2·58	1·55	9·68
1896-1899	25·01	17·55	37·40	3·74	2·52	1·53	10·09
1893-1896	22·94	14·49	29·88	2·99	1·89	1·03	8·25
1890-1893	21·62	13·85	26·87	2·69	1·64	0·83	7·60
1887-1890	20·42	13·16	24·33	2·43	1·53	0·76	7·51

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"The average capital outlay for the triennium 1908-11 was £31,491,253. After meeting all charges for maintaining and operating the works, and also interest charges, the net profit which accrued to Government during the twenty-four years ending with 1910-11 was £35,087,835, and this more than repaid the entire capital outlay on the works in operation from the commencement of British rule up to the end of the period just mentioned. In the table on p. 48 the areas are in millions of acres, and the amounts in millions of pounds.

"The figures given in the table are all annual averages, except the capital outlay, which is the average from the commencement for the three years comprised in each triennium. The Government annual reviews of irrigation works show that the value of crops is, on the average, ten times the gross revenue. The above table shows that the value of the crops is from twenty to thirty times the direct profit secured by Government. The following appear to me to be the principal advantages which result from the execution of irrigation works:

1. The produce of the country is greatly increased;
2. The land revenue is enhanced;
3. Railway receipts are greatly increased;
4. Famine expenditure is diminished and misery obviated;
5. The direct profits are handsome;
6. Irrigation works have a beneficial political effect.

"6. Development of Irrigation in Native States

"Native States occupy about one-third of India, and are equally in need of irrigation with the provinces in British territory which I have been discussing up till now. I am not in possession of full particulars regarding the progress made in Native States, and will only offer a few remarks regarding four of the largest. I may explain that advancement of irrigation is a matter which rests entirely with the rulers of the Native States, but in all the cases which

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I will now mention, they have been actuated by the same high principles which have guided the Government of India in executing works which will obviate the misery of famine.

"In the case of Hyderabad, Deccan, His Highness the Nizam has given irrigation works careful attention. There were 21,000 tanks, many of which were in bad order or breached and not in use. A strong survey establishment was employed for nine years in surveying and improving these works; latterly this establishment has been engaged in preparing famine relief programmes. For the last sixteen years a separate irrigation establishment has been entertained under an expert irrigation officer, the present occupant of the post being Mr. A. T. Mackenzie, a selected Madras superintending engineer. The principal works in hand have been renewals, extensions, and improvements, but large canals from the Godavery and Tungabhadra are also under consideration. The expenditure up to 1901-02 inclusive was £454,000, while the average expenditure in the last ten years was £103,100 per annum, making a total of £1,485,000 up to the end of 1911-12. For many years the works were operated at a loss, but latterly the average annual irrigation has greatly increased, and is now over 1,500,000 acres, while the average return on the outlay is about 5½ per cent. The average rainfall is about 33 inches, but it is much less in some years, while famine is very liable to occur in many parts of the Dominions.

"In Baroda State the operations undertaken in the last decade have been restoration of the numerous old tanks, constructing new storage works, and the investigation of sites for others. The average rainfall is 30 inches in the north and 50 inches in the south, but, as in the case of Gujerat, failure occasionally occurs, when severe famine may follow. The expenditure in the last ten years ending with 1911-12 has been £227,628. Baroda and British territories are interlaced, and for the execution of satisfactory irrigation works the co-operation of the two Govern-

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ments is essential. There are five large rivers to draw water from, but storage would be essential. There will not be a reliable good demand for the water unless where it is used for rice cultivation.

"Gwalior is the largest and most important of the Central India States. The average rainfall is from 30 inches to 40 inches, but the rains are very liable to fail, and scarcity or severe widespread famine to follow. When the Indian Irrigation Commission held their investigations in 1901-03, they found that 894 works had been executed, many of these being of small size; they also found that a famine programme for 840 works had been prepared. In 1906 His Highness the Maharaja commenced a period of great activity in the execution of irrigation works; two years were chiefly devoted to the preparation of a thorough survey of the Dominions, the irrigation possibilities and requirements being determined in a thoroughly scientific and systematic manner. The scope of these investigations can be seen from the following figures of estimated cost:

Ordinary works	£777,000
Works reserved for famine	84,000
Estimated, but not sanctioned	260,000
Total	£1,121,000

"The expenditure in the last four years has been progressive in amount, being £55,000, £71,000, £103,000, and £135,000 in 1911-12. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia initiated, directed and financed his irrigation works in the most liberal manner, and he is to be congratulated on the results, which are characterized by able scheming, scientific designing and vigorous execution according to the best modern practice. His Highness selected Mr. S. Preston, C.I.E., one of the greatest authorities on irrigation, for the post of Chief Engineer, and that officer has rendered invaluable service to the State, as was to be expected from his brilliant record while in Government service.

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"The only other Native State of which I have any particulars is Jaipur. In the seventeen years ending with 1911-12 the enlightened rulers of this State have sanctioned eight important works for £78,000; these are all storage irrigation works, the aggregate capacity of the reservoirs being 5,100,000,000 cubic feet, while the estimated annual irrigation is about 19,000 acres. The average annual rainfall is from 15 inches in the northern to 20 inches in the southern part of the State; failure of the short rainfall is of frequent occurrence. There are few facilities for extensive irrigation in this State, and the Durbar and their able irrigation officer, Mr. Stotherd, have done all that is possible under the circumstances.

"7. In the discussion on the above paper, Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., called attention to the fact that although Sir John Benton's paper said a good deal about the work done by a number of other engineers in India, his own work had not been fully described; but the results of Sir John Benton's labours were to be seen in hundreds of prosperous villages and thousands of miles of flourishing crops in India. As Inspector-General of Irrigation, Sir John Benton had probably been able to do more for irrigation in India than any other man. Dealing with the general result of irrigation in India, he emphasized the point brought out in the paper, that the indirect advantages to the population were of even greater importance in many cases than the financial results of the schemes. Up to date there had been spent £32,000,000 on irrigation works, and during the last six years this had brought in a profit averaging 10 per cent. per annum on the capital expenditure, and a net profit to the Government of India of £2,000,000 per annum more than the interest which had had to be paid on the capital expenditure. Sir John Benton had confined himself to the irrigation works carried out by the Government, but it should not be forgotten that a very large proportion of irrigation in India had been carried out by

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the people themselves from wells built at their own expense; and during the last twenty-five years in the Punjab, while the Government had spent about £4,000,000 in extending the canal system, the people themselves had spent £2,000,000 in the construction of new wells, and irrigated from wells about 3,000,000 acres per annum, whereas from the canals made by the Government some 7,000,000 acres per annum were irrigated; so that the people themselves had done a very great deal, whilst at the same time the Government had done its share. Thus they had been working to the mutual advantage of each other. Sir John Benton had been good enough to make some remarks as to the share which he (the speaker) had had in the initiation of the Triple Canal Project, now approaching completion. All that he did, however, and practically simultaneously with Colonel Jacob, was to point out that there was a surplus of water in the west of the province and a surplus of land in the east of the province, and that it seemed desirable to try to bring that surplus water from the west to irrigate the land in the east, and to suggest that it would not be difficult for engineers to carry that surplus across the Ravi River. He was grateful to the engineers for accepting his idea; but the man who particularly deserved credit for carrying it out was Sir J. Benton. A great deal of the work done recently was due to the Irrigation Commission, of which Colonel Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff was chairman. Two men of great knowledge, and two of the most useful members, Sir Thomas Higham and Sir Denzil Ibbetson, were, he regretted to say, no longer with us. They considered the existing irrigation and suggested means for carrying it further, and the work done had been done very much on the lines recommended by them. Probably if Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff were now appointed to take out the Irrigation Commission again, and to advise what should be done in the light of the past ten years' experience, they would be able to make much bolder proposals than they did ten years ago, and he was sure they would recommend

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the spending of a good deal more in the next ten years than they originally contemplated. He should like the Government of India to say to the engineers that as long as they could promise schemes which would pay their 6 or 7 or 8 per cent. they could have as much money as they could possibly spend, and they need not hurry to spend it all before March 31st—because the financial year ended at that time—but that any money not spent in one financial year would be carried forward to their credit in the next.

"Colonel Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., said that when he first began in India there were two eminent men who had spent their lives on irrigation work—two men who were now among England's forgotten worthies, namely, Sir Proby Cautley and Sir Arthur Cotton. The former, who had left India just before he (the speaker) got there, was not an engineer but an artilleryman, and a man of extraordinary energy and "go." In those days the whole of the money they were able to get for irrigation matters was what was left over after every other department had been well served. The Royal Commission had estimated on their works lasting for twenty years, but it was now said that they did not go far enough. At the same time, he thought there was reason to be thankful for what the Royal Commission had done.

"Mr. H. S. Lawrence, I.C.S., said that there were in the room many experts in Indian irrigation, but he surmised with some confidence that everyone would admit that this masterly review of Sir John Benton had taught him much that he had not known before of the limitless field of irrigational achievement. The reputation of the engineers of India stood throughout the world, and needed no applause from a lay civilian. There was one triumph, however, briefly noted by Sir John Benton, which struck the imagination. The Upper Jhelum Canal crossed a hill torrent which carried 150,000 cusecs in flood—*i.e.*, this figure represented four times the maximum flood of the

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River Thames. It would have been interesting to know how this feat had been accomplished. With the modesty of his profession, the author made no comment on the character of the labours and hardships of the men of his department. Where surveys were made and canals constructed in the desert, not only was the climate most rigorous, but the difficulties for want of water and food supplies were very serious. He had known men who had undergone these hardships for several years on end uncomplainingly, and had accomplished their job triumphantly. The nature of their work was known to few outside the immediate circle of their colleagues. As one who was concerned for some years in the consideration of irrigational projects from the revenue and agricultural standpoints, he ventured to offer one word of criticism. Towards the close of his paper Sir John Benton had summarized the general benefits of irrigation, but in his humble opinion, he had throughout laid undue stress on the financial success of the various projects. While the financial criterion was that commonly applied by men who had no other means of judging the success or failure of an enterprise, the Government of India were bound to take a wider view of the general economic welfare of the State. They were not a commercial company to be judged by their balance-sheet alone. Just as, in determining the land revenue of a tract, Government refrained from demanding the economic rent, so, in settling the water-rates of an arid region, where canal water was a necessary of life, Government refrained from demanding the full market price. The improvement of agricultural prosperity took precedence of questions of financial profit, and in securing this end the newly established Department of Agriculture was, from day to day, playing a greater part. There were numerous problems which could not be solved by the Irrigational or Revenue Departments without their aid. Take the question of the duty of water, which was the foundation-stone of all financial forecasts. The theories

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of the chief experts were widely discrepant. Take the question of rice cultivation. Sir John Benton had told them that the prosperity of districts in Burma had been built up on rice irrigated by canals. In Sind, a country eminently suited to rice, this cultivation was prohibited on the new canals. Take the question of drainage, touched with a very light hand in the paper. It was expensive and not directly remunerative; but the agriculturist would tell them that it was absolutely necessary to the permanent prosperity of many tracts. The failure of the old canals in Bengal and Orissa was due to the ignorance of agricultural conditions then prevailing, and the most expert agricultural advice was still necessary to prevent mistakes in the future. Sir John Benton had given an explicit warning with reference to the Province of Sind that, if we waited and saw the effect of the known withdrawals up country and the others which were to follow, we might see a ruined Sind, and that the available supplies were unlikely to be adequate to meet the requirements of proposed works. The Province of Sind had a population of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and an irrigational revenue of 100 lakhs of rupees. It was impossible to contemplate with equanimity any sacrifice of the vital interests of this province; and, however attractive might be the financial prospects of new schemes in the Punjab, it was probable that the Government of Bombay would require adequate guarantees for the security of Sind. In Egypt the prior claims of the delta of the Nile were recognized, and the expansion of irrigation in Upper Egypt or the Soudan was conditional on the reservation of full supplies for the delta. As an officer recently serving in Sind, he ventured to think that the province would be profoundly grateful to Sir John Benton for bringing into such prominent notice the danger to which it was exposed. Finally, this paper showed the extraordinary value to the State of the services of an officer who, in a highly technical department, was untrammelled by the cares of detailed administration, and was able to collate and compare the

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experience of the several provinces of India. Such officers were far too rare in that country, where time to see and time to think were the greatest needs of the administration, and were denied most men by the sad perversity of public opinion in this country towards officials of high position enjoying ease with dignity.

"In a letter to the Secretary Sir Arundel T. Arundel points out that Sir John Benton's figures show that the total expenditure by the British Government *up to date* on works of irrigation in operation throughout India is about 32½ millions sterling. The total area irrigated is about 36,000 square miles, which is equivalent to the entire area of Scotland and of Wales, less the county of Dumfries."

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XXXVII

THE "BRITISH CALIFORNIAN"* ON BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

IN answer to the charges recently made by Indian agitators in America against the Government of India to the effect that (1) "the taxes are enormous, particularly on the land and on salt"; (2) that "India pays England fearful tribute, many millions of pounds"; (3) that "there is a vast army of both soldiers and officials to maintain"; (4) that "the higher officials receive salaries that are staggering from the Hindu point of view"; and (5) that "England trains the Indian youth only for minor positions," the *British Californian* gives the following able and interesting reply:

"As informed persons are aware, India pays no 'tribute' to Great Britain. A vast sum of British capital has been invested in India, and draws dividends, but has there been no commercial return? India has 32,420 miles of railways, and £284,347,600 of British money have been sunk in their construction and equipment. The people of India are paying 3½ per cent. per annum on this borrowed capital, but do not the benefits derived from the railways leave the Hindus the gainers? Journeys which used to take weeks and months, for both men and goods, are now performed in a day or two. Passengers pay one farthing a mile, and last year 410,000,000 were carried. Freight carried amounted to 81,400,000 tons. Millions sterling have been sunk in irrigation works and storage dams, and while capital demands its 3 per cent., has not the productivity of the land been increased tenfold?

* April, 1914

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"Truly, there is a 'drain out' of India, as there is a drain out of every country doing business with the world, but there is also a 'drain in.' During the last seventy years India has absorbed 2,250,000,000 ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the whole world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 ounces produced in the whole world. Now 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 is nearly 40 per cent. Is this a proof of increasing poverty? During the last seventy years, India has absorbed £240,000,000 worth of gold, or more than a tenth of the whole world's production. Moreover, India's absorption of gold is rapidly increasing. In the last two years she has absorbed £35,000,000 worth —more than one-sixth of the world's production for those two years.

"With malicious untruth, (or woeful ignorance,) it is averred that 'the taxes are enormous, particularly on products of the land and on salt.' Just the reverse is true; India is the most lightly taxed country in the world, as will be seen at once when we state that the sum derived from every kind of taxation last year amounted to less than one dollar per head, and that nearly half of this was the proceeds of the land revenue.

"The land revenue in India is the precise equivalent of rent in other countries, the cultivator paying to the State what in Europe and America he pays to the landlord; and, unless rent is to be regarded as taxation when the State receives it, and merely as rent when a private individual receives it, the sum paid in taxes by the inhabitants of British India is rather less than 50 cents a head per annum.

"As to the salt tax, the cost of production at the largest sources of supply—the salt lakes of Rajputana—is fourpence per eighty-two pounds. The duty is sixteenpence per eighty-two pounds. This seems large. But so carefully have the costs of production, transportation, and distribution been kept down that the price of salt to the Indian consumer is not materially higher than in England, and is sub-

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stantially lower than in France or Italy or the United States. Under native rule, salt cost three times as much, and was often not procurable. It should be remembered, too, that the Indian peasant pays no tax on tobacco, tea, coffee, etc.

"As to 'the vast army of both soldiers and officials to maintain,' the brief but sufficient answer to this is that over sixty million Indians are governed by native rulers under what is in many cases merely a modicum of British supervision; that the armed forces of the Crown in India are two-thirds native and one-third British; that nearly 1,400,000 Indians are engaged in the service of the State; that Indians dispose of the greater part of the magisterial work, sit on the bench in each of the High Courts, and exercise jurisdiction, in all classes of civil cases, over Indians and Europeans alike; that Indians greatly outnumber the British in the 750 municipalities and the 1,000 rural boards; that Indians sit in all the Legislative Councils and are consulted as a matter of course by Government before any measure is even drafted.

"As to the higher positions, in 1911 there were 6,500 Britons employed on salaries of 75 rupees a month and upwards (to administer the affairs of 230,000,000 of people), and 21,800 Indians on salaries of 75 rupees a month and upwards.

"Politically, from the Indian point of view, the advance in recent years has been immense. The reforms of 1909 went far beyond Indian expectations. There never was a time when so many Indians had a voice in so many branches of the administration, could so effectively present their views, or were able to count upon such sympathetic consideration.

"Government was never so gentle, so quick to learn and to redress grievances, so tender towards Indian susceptibilities, or so zealous in labouring for the public good. Never were the public servants of India so hard-worked, so anxious to initiate measures for the benefit of

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the people, and so diligent in striving to make them successful.

"Local self-government has largely passed into Indian hands to make or to mar. The control of education in some important aspects has been committed to Indian bodies.

"The agitator maintains that the British Government view the plague and famine in India as providential remedies for overpopulation, and yet, in the last thirty years the people of India have increased by 61,000,000 against an increase of 6,000,000 in the self-governing British Dominions and 12,500,000 in the British Isles. There are 250,000,000 acres under crop in India to-day, while Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, all told, have less than 50,000,000 of acres. In one crop—wheat—India produces 64,000,000 bushels more than the whole of the rest of the British Empire put together—that is to say, 426,000,000 bushels of wheat are produced in India every year, to say nothing of rice and the rest. The sea-borne trade of India has increased in ten years by far more than one-half, and now amounts to £260,000,000 a year, or £60,000,000 more than the trade of Russia.

"Statistics recently published relating to the jute industry of India, (to cite just one branch of manufacture,) give a record of uninterrupted progress. Last year there were sixty-five mills at work, with a nominal capital in the aggregate of £7,673,333, 31,400 looms, and 645,900 spindles. Production has advanced to a proportionate extent. The combined value of gunny bags and gunny cloth exported by sea in 1909-10 amounted to £11,393,333, and was nearly fourteen times as great as the average value of the exports in the period 1879-80 to 1883-84.

"In ten years bank deposits have increased from 270,000,000 rupees to more than 637,500,000 rupees, and bank capital from 45,000,000 rupees to nearly 65,000,000 rupees; while Indian post-office savings bank deposits have grown from 834,366 to 1,368,939, and the membership of

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co-operative societies now exceeds 400,000, though the movement is still in its infancy and foreign to India.

"The British do not take the stand that they have perfected the Government of India to a point where it cannot be improved. But each year, as the people break away from ancient prejudices and restraining customs, progress is made."

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XXXVIII

LAND CESS IN ITALY AND INDIA*

By A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

IT seems well worth while to put permanently on record the following paper by an unusually well-qualified authority, which is entitled "Land Cess in Italy and India," but is really a most comprehensive and interesting comparison between a poor village in the Madras Presidency and another in one of the poorest countries in Europe. It shows very clearly what a comparative term poverty is, and how many obscure factors enter into any calculation as to the comparative wealth of different countries.

"In commenting recently on certain proposals made to enhance local cess in the Madras Presidency, an Indian journalist referred to the greater advantages of the French system of *centimes additionels*. On reading the article in question, it occurred to me it might perhaps be worth while to explain, and incidentally without any controversial purpose, but merely for the enlightenment of the Indian public in general, to compare the taxes and cesses on land in some European country with those in this Presidency.

"The countries that have adopted the decimal system for their coinage express any enhancement of taxation in terms of additional decimes (tenths) or centimes (hundredths), Centesimal coinage simplifies all calculations, administrative and private, when taxation is enhanced. (I commend the point to the Weights and Measures Committee.)

"For instance, a country goes to war and wishes to levy

* From the *Indian Review*, 1914.

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enhanced taxation to cover the expenses. The Finance Minister simply adds two or three war decimes to the land tax and all the other chief taxes, and everyone can calculate at a glance how much the yield will be; and the taxpayer can also calculate at once how much more he will have to pay. A one-franc stamp paper costs 1·22 francs in Italy at the present time. It was surcharged ·20 (two decimes) for the penultimate war, and the Government found it convenient not to remove the surcharge at the end of the war. It was surcharged the remaining ·02 (two centimes) to pay part of the cost of rebuilding Messina after the earthquake. The two surcharges are both printed over the one-franc stamp, so that the taxpayer knows that the one-franc stamp now costs 1·22. Similarly the land tax used to be 7 per cent. plus 3 war decimes per cent., put on for I forget what war. The Government found it convenient not to remove the decimes for a long time after the war was over. Eventually they compromised, removed the decimes and made the tax 8 per cent. instead of 7 $(1 + \frac{3}{10})$ or 9·1 per cent.

"It is commonly assumed here that all foreign countries have more permanent settlements of the land tax than this province, which varies them at intervals of thirty years. This simply is not true. Most European countries vary the rate of the land tax, like that of other taxes, whenever it suits the Government. They enhance it even to pay the cost of re-survey and settlement. This is in progress in Italy now, and the land tax is surcharged a few centimes to cover the cost.

"The Local Fund additional centimes are exactly of the same nature. Local bodies in France and Italy have several sources of revenue, but one of them, as with us, is a cess levied on the Government land tax. If the normal amount is not sufficient, the local bodies have power to levy additional centimes thereon for a particular purpose, as to pay interest on a loan, or, in general, because they cannot otherwise make both ends meet. This is the

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'system' of additional centimes which the Indian newspaper referred to has recommended to the public. It is not properly a 'system' at all, but a mere method of calculating enhancements.

"The most important Local Fund bodies, and those which incur the largest share of expenditure in France and Italy, are the village panchayats, of which there is one for every revenue village. In France the total revenue of the 36,000 panchayats is the enormous sum of 6,000 lakhs, and of the District Boards 3,000 lakhs. The 137 lakhs raised by District Boards and Municipalities in this Presidency is a very insignificant sum in comparison.

"However, there are so many disturbing factors in these large comparisons that they lead to no very definite conclusion. I know, for instance, that the Government land revenue in Italy, a country with a smaller cultivated area and a smaller population than the Madras Province, is 10 per cent. more than that of our province; but I would not conclude that the burden of the Government taxation of the land is there greater. For one thing, the land is probably made to yield more. For another thing, the taxation is evenly distributed, the privileges of the nobility (roughly Zamindars) and clergy (roughly Inamdars) having been abolished, while in this province the privileged classes still take from the cultivator a tribute equal, or nearly equal, to that taken by the State.

"It is better to leave these generalities and large comparisons. It is only when we take small similar local units, and eliminate disturbing factors as far as possible and apply practical detailed knowledge and experience, that comparisons between taxation in such distant and different countries can be really illuminating. I will compare the taxation in a single village in the Krishna District with that in a single village in Italy which I know well, and I promise striking results. My figures are official in each case.

"Konatalapalli is a typical upland village in a backward

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portion of the Krishna District. It has a population of 1,300, and an area of 2,700 acres, of which 2,500 are comprised in holdings. It grows millet on about 1,000 acres, cotton on about 400, pulses on 200 or 300. There are also a few paddy fields. Castor-oil and chillies are grown on small areas. There are some fruit and liquor trees. The population comprises besides the agriculturists only the usual village artizans, a few weavers, and a few persons connected with the liquor trade.

"Torre San Patrizio is a typical upland village in a backward portion of Italy. It has the same population as Konatalapalli 1,300. The area comprised in holdings is somewhat less, 2,000 acres against 2,500. It grows maize and wheat. Konatalapalli eats its millet and sells it cotton. Torre San Patrizio eats its maize and sells its wheat. Konatalapalli has its oil seeds; Torre San Patrizio its oil-fruit on the olive-trees. Konatalapalli has a few liquor trees, but not many; Torre San Patrizio has a few liquor shrubs (vines), but not many. Pulses are grown as secondary crops in both villages. The population of Torre San Patrizio is all agricultural. There are the usual village artizans. There are no rich proprietors. There are not even weavers as a class apart, but in a few ryots' houses the women work at the loom in the winter. The people of Torre San Patrizio are vegetarians, not from choice but from necessity. They cannot afford to eat meat, nor even eggs. They sell their eggs and their fowls. They cannot afford to eat wheat bread, but eat maize porridge and maize bread, vegetables and fruit, and what the cow produces.

"The soil of Konatalapalli is black regar clay, which grows good crops of millet and cotton. The soil of Torre San Patrizio is light-coloured clay, which grows fair maize and good fodder crops but very poor wheat and vines.

"I shall now draw a comparison between the taxation paid by the peasants of Torre San Patrizio and the ryots of Konatalapalli.

"The Government land revenue is nearly the same in the

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two villages. It is just over Rs. 3,000 at Konatalapalli, and 4,568 francs = Rs. 2,741 at Torre San Patrizio.

"But when we come to local taxation on land the difference is enormous. It is law in Italy that village panchayats shall not add cesses for their own purposes to government direct taxes until they have exhausted every other source of taxation. But Torre San Patrizio has only, apart from akbari, land, houses and cattle to tax. It therefore taxes these, what corresponds with akbari being entirely insufficient.

"Konatalapalli pays Rs. 250 local cess. Torre San Patrizio pays 1,707 francs = Rs. 1,024 to the Taluk Board, and besides this 6,337 francs = Rs. 3,803 to the village panchayat, or a total of nearly Rs. 5,000 cess on the Government land revenue of Rs. 2,741.

"Nor is this all. For the cess is only one of the taxes extracted by the Torre San Patrizio village panchayat from the ryot. The total revenue of the panchayat is Rs. 9,000, or more than three times the Government land revenue of the village.

"The revenue of the Torre San Patrizio panchayet is made up as follows:

	Rs.
Cesses.	
Cess on Government land tax	3,803
Cess on Government house tax	329
Taxes.	
Cattle tax	2,671
Family or hearth tax	831
Octroi (chiefly on wine)	706
Profits.	
Profits on communal land, houses, oilpress, cemetery, oven license tax	429
Contributions.	
From Government for schools	159
From Taluk Board for schools	79
Rs.	9,007

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"The cesses, the cattle tax, and the hearth tax, amounting to Rs. 7,634, come straight out of the pockets of the ryots, and are a burden on the land the ryots till, the cattle with which they till it, and the houses they live in. Besides this Rs. 7,634, they have to pay Rs. 2,741 land revenue and Rs. 237 house tax to Government, and Rs. 1,024 land cess and Rs. 106 house cess to the Taluk Board. The land, cattle, and village site of Torre San Patrizio thus bear a burden of Rs. 11,854, while the land, cattle, and village site of Konatalapalli bear a burden of little over Rs. 3,000. Nothing is levied on Konatalapalli cattle, there being no Government forest reserve in the neighbourhood.

"I reckon the gross agricultural income of Torre San Patrizio at Rs. 90,000. This figure is based upon researches extending over twenty years, and is very accurate. For Konatalapalli I cannot make so accurate an estimate. But the village officers tell me the crop on an acre of cotton is sold at about Rs. 40, and that on an acre of cholum at about Rs. 30. These two products alone, grown on about 400 and 1,000 acres respectively, yield Rs. 46,000 a year gross. Then there are hundreds of acres of pulses and other products, including 50 of wet paddy, and I must also reckon in the milk and other products of the cows and buffaloes, and the profit on cattle-rearing (for I have included these and many other items in my estimate for Torre San Patrizio), and I do not think a lower estimate than Rs. 70,000 could be made for the total gross agricultural income of Konatalapalli.

"The land at Konatalapalli is selling at Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 an acre. The average at Torre San Patrizio is about Rs. 350 an acre. There are about 2,500 acres at Konatalapalli, 2,000 at Torre San Patrizio. The market value of the land at Torre San Patrizio may therefore be put at 7 lakhs against about Rs. 4,37,500 at Konatalapalli. But it must be remembered that the rate of interest is lower in Europe, and land at Torre San Patrizio is sold at a higher

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number of years' purchase than in the backward Nandigama Taluk of the Krishna District.

"The number of years' purchase reckoned at Torre San Patrizio is about twenty-five, the sum reckoned as nett income being taken to be what is derived by a resident owner who is not the actual cultivator, but gives the land out on the half-sharing system to actual cultivators. The nett income corresponding with Rs. 350 per acre market value is Rs. 14 per acre. The taxation is Rs. 6 per acre. Therefore public bodies take Rs. 6 out of every Rs. 20 nett income.

"This estimate of Rs. 14 per acre is strikingly confirmed by an examination of private accounts of thirty years. The figures worked out to almost exactly Rs. 14 per acre.

"Accordingly the nett agricultural income of the 2,000 acres at Torre San Patrizio may be put at Rs. 40,000, of which Rs. 12,000 is taken by public bodies, and Rs. 28,000 or about Rs. 22 per head of population left to the ryots; the figure for gross income being Rs. 70 per head.

"At Konatalapalli twenty years is the limit of the number of years' purchase that can be taken. On the same principle the nett income of Konatalapalli is Rs. 8–12 per acre against Rs. 14 per acre at Torre San Patrizio; the total for the 2,500 acres is just under Rs. 22,000 against Rs. 28,000; taxation takes Rs. 3,000 out of Rs. 25,000 against Rs. 12,000 out of Rs. 40,000; the nett income per head of population, after paying taxes, is Rs. 17 against Rs. 22; the gross income per head is Rs. 55 against Rs. 70.

"The nett income is something of a fiction in the case of populations composed chiefly of peasant proprietors. The gross income is perhaps a better test of relative taxable capacity. But it must be pointed out that neither gross nor nett income per head is a fair test until allowance is made for difference in cost of living. I should say this difference would cover the whole excess of Rs. 15 gross income which the Torre San Patrizio peasant apparently enjoys. For I should say that the more costly dwellings

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and cloths and cattle shelters necessitated by the European climate cost the Italian peasant at least the difference, Rs. 15 per head per annum. The Konatalapalli ryot probably has more to spend on luxuries after providing for food, clothing, and shelter. He certainly does spend more on marriages, jewellery, etc. The Torre San Patrizio population has scarcely any money at all for such indulgencies as jewellery. I should say there was at least Rs. 25 worth of jewellery at Konatalapalli for every rupee's worth at Torre San Patrizio. On the other hand, the population there is ever so much better housed: there is a protected water supply, the streets are paved and are kept clean and lighted; there are metalled roads to the neighbouring villages; there are a doctor and midwife paid from the village fund who have to attend all cases gratuitously; all the male and all the female children are taught the elements of learning gratuitously at the village schools; there is hardly any disease, and the mortality is just half what it is at Konatalapalli. Torre San Patrizio also shares the services of a veterinary, of an agricultural expert, and of an engineer, with neighbouring villages.

"Some details of expenditure may be of interest. The payment of debt accounts for Rs. 1,200 per annum, sanitary expenditure for Rs. 2,200, education Rs. 1,500, public works Rs. 630, office and menial establishment Rs. 2,100. For luxuries—maintenance of a rifle-range (Rs. 300), maintenance of a brass band (Rs. 180)—only small sums are provided. Richer villages in Italy maintain opera-houses, allot funds for the celebration of festivals, make the chairman an entertaining allowance, and so on.

"The doctor at Torre San Patrizio gets Rs. 100 a month plus vaccination and other small allowances; the boys' teacher Rs. 55 a month, and the schoolmistress Rs. 40.

"The public works allotment is only for maintenance. The original construction of buildings and roads was defrayed from loans, which have not yet been completely

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paid off. There is a special State bank in Italy which makes loans to local bodies. For objects, such as water-supply and school buildings, which the Government has much at heart, the interest on the loans is reduced to 3 per cent., the State paying the difference between this and the market rate of interest. A particular amount of the village land and house cess has to be earmarked and set apart for the service of any loan that may have been taken.

"Another fact which may be of interest is that Torre San Patrizio is not peculiar in raising cesses at such high rates. The total land revenue of Italy was 96 million francs last year. The cesses on this raised by District Boards and village panchayats amounted to no less than 175 million francs. The land cess in Italy is, accordingly, 29 annas in the rupee. Here it is one anna in most districts.

"Another difference that may be noted is that here the land cess increases automatically if the land revenue is increased at a resettlement. In Italy it would not be so increased. The local body determines each year what amount it requires, and fixes the number of additional centimes accordingly. In practice, however, variations are seldom made, because the panchayat's expenses vary very little. In Torre San Patrizio exactly the same amount of land and house cesses have been levied for the last thirty-four years.

"What are the conclusions to be drawn from all the above facts? I leave that to the reader. I will only observe that all great advances in civilization cost immense sums of money, and that village sanitation and free universal education are quite new things even in Europe, but that no European nation regrets the enormous sacrifices they have involved."

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